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DOCUMENTS

A New Vancouver Journal

In this final portion of this new Vancouver Journal the author gives his observations of the natives of Nootka Sound and the adjacent coasts.

As stated in the introductions to former installments this is only a portion of a manuscript that fell into the hands of Mr. A. H. Turnbull of Wellington, New Zealand. The portion we have thus reproduced is all of the manuscript that relates to the region of Puget Sound. It was kindly supplied by Mr. Turnbull who has tried in every way to ascertain the identity of the author of the Journal. In the two volumes of the manuscript there is no signature or outward evidence of the writer. From remarks in the Journal, however, it is concluded by Mr. Turnbull that the writer was Edward Bell, the clerk of the armed tender "Chatham." It is positive that the Journal was written by some officer of the "Chatham" and it may well be that Mr. Turnbull's conjecture is near the truth.

While his search was going on an appeal was made for aid from the great authorities in the British Museum, the greatest library on earth. The published portions were forwarded and the experts there did the best they could with such material. I. P. Gilson, Keeper of Manuscripts, writes that he can only offer a conjecture, but he and his assistant, Mr. Milne, point out certain phrases, such as "septum of the nose," which would suggest Surgeon Walker as the probable author.

By eliminating such officers as are mentioned by name, these two seem about the only ones likely to have had the education necessary to have written the Journal. It seems quite likely, therefore, that either Clerk Bell or Surgeon Walker was the author of the new Journal that has thus come to light.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

THE JOURNAL

(Continued From Page 308, October Quarterly)

On the 18th arrived the Brig Fenis a trader belonging to Macao, under Portuguese Colours. She had been but one season on the Coast and was now going direct to China with a tolerable cargo of 700 Skins. The management of this concern was under a Mr Duffin who was on board her. This is the Mr Duffin that was in the Feluce with Mr Mears when he first came to Nootka and built his small vessel in the summer of '88 and that was afterwards in the Argonaut when she was captured (under the command of Mr Colnett) by the Spaniards in this

Cove in the summer of '89 and so often mentioned in Mears's Memorial & papers respecting the captures &c.,

'Twas about this time that the business between Seigr. Quadra and Captn. Vancouver respecting the giving up and receiving of Nootka was drawing to a conclusion and we found after all that the difference respecting the *right* of Possession of the English to this place, which I have before mentioned arose between these two gentlemen, and which was at that time thought so little of, was now the very barrier to the settlement of the business and it was now known that the Spaniards would not give the place up to us, in the manner that we wanted. Nor did either party conceive that they acted contrary to the Articles of the Convention. Various letters officially passed between Captn. Vancouver & Mr Quadra.

The Article of the Convention runs thus:— "It is agreed that the Building and tracts of Land situated &c. &c. of which the subjects of His Britannick Majesty were dispossessed about the month of April 1789 by a Spanish Officer shall be restored to the said British Subjects."

The place where Mr Mears built his house was in a little hollow of the Land³¹ in the N. Western corner of the Cove formed by high rocky Bluffs at each side; here it was he built his vessel, for which purpose it was extremely commodious and as he carried on all his operations in this corner, 'twas natural for him to have his houses, sheds &c., contiguous to his works, not, but what he had (according to his own account) an equal right to all and any other part of the Cove, having purchased the whole of the Land, of the Chiefs Callicum and Maquinna, but he had built his house, sheds &c. and carried on all his business here because it was a snug, convenient place. For the same reason when we first came in, because the place seemed so convenient, we erected a Tent here, and all the repairs of the boats, casks &c. was done here. Our Cables, Provisions &c. when taken out to lay the vessel ashore were landed here, and 'twas at this place the Chatham was haul'd on shore and repaired. The two high rocky Bluffs I have spoken of were the limits at each side, and the Sea Beach, and an old Tree towards the end of this little nitch in the land, were the other limits of the ground that Mr Mears's works & houses occupied and in this space there was not altogether half an acre of ground, with in it, the Spaniards had no buildings of any kind. Now Mr Quadra says that, as this was the only place occupied by Mears, *this spot* of ground, and *this spot only* was all the "Tracts of Land of which the Subjects of His Britannick Majesty were dispossessed," that consequently this was the extent of the British

³¹Vancouver published a picture of "little hollow," which allows one to pick out the exact site at the present time.

Territories on this Coast, and to no more than which they have any right or claim, and that finally, according to the Letter of the Article in the Convention, he could only give this Spot up to Captn. Vancouver as *British property* and under the *Sovereignty of Great Britain*. He said he would leave us in possession of the *whole of the place*, and his own house, and all the other houses and buildings &c., but not as British property, that the right of Sovereignty of the whole of the Sound (except the little spot of British Territory I have mentioned) should belong to the King of Spain and should remain *Spanish property*. I have likewise heard that he even said, that, when he was going away the Spanish Flag should be haul'd down from the Fort on Hog Island, and the English Colours being hoisted in their room he would salute them, but this was only said in conversation. Captn. Vancouver asked him to write this officially in a letter, that however he would not do, for had he done it, little more altercation would have taken place, as the striking their colours, and saluting the English in their room, would be a cessation of the place to all intents and purposes. On these terms that I have stated Captn. Vancouver refused to receive the place and here the matter rested, till, as is specified in the Treaty, the two Courts decide the difference.

Mr Quadra prepar'd for sailing in a few days, he dispatched the Hope Brig to the Streights of Defuca,³² at the entrance of which the Spaniards have a small settlement and a Frigate lying there, with orders to the commander to evacuate the settlement and make all haste to Nootka where he was to remain for the ensuing winter.

Mr. Duffin happened to arrive about the time that the above difference arose respecting Nootka, and in order to substantiate Mr Mears's rights & claims to the Land, and to do away all claims of the Spaniards on just grounds, he drew up the following statement, and delivered to to Captn. Vancouver.³³ "To Captn. George Vancouver, commander of His Britannick Majesty's Ships Discovery and Chatham, now lying in Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound. Whereas different reports have been propogated relative to what right Mr Mears had for taking possession of the Land in Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound. I shall here state with that candour and veracity which has always influenced me on such occasions, an impartial account of Mr Mears's proceedings in the above Port.

"Towards the end of the year 1787 a commercial expedition was undertaken by John Henry Cox Esq. & Co., Merchants then residing at Canton, who accordingly fitted and equipp'd two ships for the Fur Trade on the N. W. Coast of America. The conduct of this expedition was

³²Reference is here made to Neah Bay which the Spaniards had called Nunez Gaona. There Lieutenant Fidalgo was beginning a fort.

³³The testimony was considered important by Captain Vancouver, who sets it forth at considerable length in his journal.

reposed in John Mears Esq., as commander in chief and sole conductor of the voyage & who was likewise one of the Merchant proprietors. These vessels were equipped under Portuguese Colours with a view to mitigate those heavy port charges imposed on ships of every nation (the Portuguese only excepted) which circumstance is well known to all commercial gentlemen trading to that part of the world, therefore the above vessels were fitted out in the name and under the firm of John Cavallo Esq., a Portuguese Merchant then residing at Macao, but he had no property in them whatsoever, both their Cargoes being entirely British property and entirely navigated by British Subjects.

"We arrived at the above Port in Nootka Sound in May, 1788. On our first arrival at that port the two chiefs Maquinna & Callicum were absent. On their return which was about the 17th or 18th of the same month Mr Mears and myself accompanied by Mr Robert Funter our 2nd officer went ashore and treated with the said chiefs for the whole of the Land which forms Friendly Cove Nootka Sound in His Britannick Majesty's name and accordingly bought it of them for 8 or 10 Sheets of Copper and several other trifling articles and the Natives were fully satisfied with their agreement and their chiefs and likewise their subjects did homage to Mr Mears as their Sovereign using those formalities that are peculiar to themselves and which Mr Mears has made mention of in his publication. The British Flag was display'd at the same time that these formalities were used as is customary on these occasions (and not the Portuguese Flag as has been intimated by several people who were not present at the time and consequently advanced these assertions without a foundation). On our taking possession of the Cove in his Maj's. name as aforementioned Mr Mears caused a house to be erected on the Spot where the Chatham's Tent now stands it being the most convenient spot of the Cove for our intentions. The chiefs and their subjects offered to quit the Cove entirely and reside at a place call'd Tashées and leave the place to ourselves as entire Masters and owners of the whole Cove and Lands adjacent, consequently we were not confined to that spot but had full liberty to erect a house in any other part of the Cove, but chose the spot we did for the abovemention'd reason. Mr Mears therefore appointed Mr Rob; Funter, his 2nd. officer, to reside in the house which consisted of 3 Bedchambers for the Officers and men, and a Mess room. The above apartments were about 5 feet from the ground and under them were apartments allotted for putting our stores in. Exclusive of this house were several sheds and outhouses for the convenience of the Artificers to work in, and on Mr Mears's departure the house &c. was left in good con-

dition, and he enjoin'd Maquinna to take care of them until his (Mr Mears's) return or else some of his associates on the coast again.

"It has been said by several people that on Don Martinez's arrival on the Coast not a vestige of the said house remain'd, however that may be I cannot say as I was not at Nootka when he arrived there. On our return in July 1789, in the said Cove we found it occupied by the Subjects of His Catholic Majesty and likewise some people belonging to the Ship Columbia, commanded by Mr John Kendrick under the Flag and protection of the United States of American had their Tents and out houses erected on the same spot where formerly our house stood but I saw no remains of our Architecture. We found lying at anchor in the same Cove His Catholic Majesty's Ships Princessa and San Carlos and likewise the Ship Columbia and Sloop Washington, and the second day after our arrival we were captured by Don Martinez and the Americans were suffered to carry on their commerce with the Natives unmolested. This, Sir, is the best information I can give you that might tend to elucidate the propriety of Mr Mears's rights & claims to Nootka Village and Friendly Cove, and shou'd anyone whatsoever doubt the truth of this protest I am always ready to attest it before any Court of judicature or any one person duly authoriz'd to examine me.

I have the honor to be,

Sir, your &c. &c.

(Signed) Robt. Duffin"

Before Mr. Duffin sail'd from Nootka Sound he made oath to the above before Capt'n. Vancouver. The state of affairs was now materially altered and instead of our (the Chatham) staying at Nootka it was confidently reported she was to go immediately home to England with dispatches. The Doedalus who was now just unloaded was ordered to reload as quickly as possible and each of the Vessels were to take a certain quantity of stores and provisions out of her.

On the 19th at high water we hove the vessel on the Blocks and repair'd that part of the false Keel that was knock'd off. The following day we hove her Broadside on the beach to repair some Copper, that was knock'd off her keel farther aft and on the 21st the repairs being finished we hove off and began reloading with all dispatch. The same day arrived the Margaret, American ship belonging to Mr Magee. She had made a successful trip to the Northward and had collected together between 11 & 1200 Skins and as she was to come on the Coast the following season she landed here on the beach the frame of a small Schooner with one of her Mates and a party of seamen & artificers who were to be her crew. These people were to remain here the winter and build

this little vessel so as to be ready to start on the coast the first ensuing season. They were to live in the house now occupied by Mr Magee who was going away in the Margaret to the Sandwich Islands from whence he was uncertain whether he should proceed to China to dispose of his cargo and come out again or spend the winter at those Islands and after that come strait on to the Coast.

On this day Mr Quadra took his farewell dinner with Captn. Vancouver on board the Discovery as he intended sailing the next day. Seigr. Camaano was likewise there. The healths of the Spanish & English Sovereigns were toasted with great Loyalty, and accompanied by a salute of 21 Guns from the Discovery, and Mr. Quadra's health and good passage to his next port was most cheerfully bumpered, and accompanied by a salute of 13 guns, in the evening he insisted on our all going on shore, and spending the last evening with him which we did exceedingly pleasantly with Singing, Music, Dancing and all kinds of amusements. The next morning he sail'd in the Activa Brig for Monterrey a Spanish Settlement on the Coast of California and as he rounded Hog Island paid the last compliment to Captn. Vancouver by saluting him with 13 Guns, which was return'd. With Mr Quadra Mr Wethered went. Seigr. Camaano now hoist'd his Pendant on board the remaining Spanish Vessel the Arasansu, and became the Commandante of the Place. He took up his residence on shore in the Government house.

Never was the departure of a man more regretted than that of Mr Quadra's. He was universally beloved and admired and the only consolation we had was that we should see him again at Monterrey (whither 'twas reported we were to go from this) there he said he wou'd wait for us and make it his business to receive us. In such a place as Nootka, so remote from all civilized places (except the small settlements in California) and after having been so long there, he lived in a style that I should suppose is rarely seen under such circumstances, and supported the dignity of his Court in a very becoming manner. His house was open to every gentleman, he gave few particular invitations, they were general. He was fond of society and of social amusements and the Evening parties at his house were among the pleasantest I have spent since leaving England. One of the Articles in the Convention provides for all difficulties which may arise between the officers of either party in case of infraction of the treaty being settled by *only* the two Courts. Captain V. and Seigr. Quadra therefore parted on as good terms as they met.³⁴

³⁴Captain Vancouver, in his own journal, manifests the same enthusiasm in speaking of the character of Quadra.

23rd. This day arrived the American Ship Columbia commanded by Mr Grey and his sloop the Adventure.³⁵ This little vessel was built on this coast. He was now proceeding to China with a valuable cargo of skins, having no less (according to report) than 17 or 1800. He sail'd the next morning. It was very difficult here to come at the truth of what numbers of skins ships collected; for the Masters of them and their mates & ships company, whether from a privilege they think they can claim by passing round Cape Horn, or from some unaccountable species of distrust or jealousy seldom agree in their accounts of their quantity on board, many of them, and often, varying hundreds of skins. However I believe I may be somewhat tolerably near the truth in the quantities I have mention'd throughout, at all events I am pretty sure I am not above the mark, more likely considerably under it.

28th. We had hitherto since we came been very fortunate in our weather having had regular Land and Sea Breezes every day with clear pleasant dry Weather but today the wind came from the S. E. and blew a very fresh Gale with rain, which continued all night and the next day, and in the evening, by a sudden gust, the Bower Cable parted in the nip of the clinch, and as we were moor'd pretty near the shore in the N. W. part of the Cove, the vessel on parting swung head to wind and gently drifted on the Rocks, but we soon clear'd her by heaving on the N. E. Cable. We then weigh'd the anchor we parted from and bent the Cable which the Deodalus's Launch carried it out to the S. E. corner of the Cove where we hove into and moor'd. She had received no damage her side only having touch'd the rocks and that slightly.

Captain Vancouver now thought proper to send his first Lieut: Mr. Zach Mudge to England with his dispatches. He was to sail in a day or two in the Fenis bound direct to China (touching in her way at the Sandwich Islands) and from thence to proceed home by the first India Ship. In consequence of this more promotions took place. Mr Paget (2nd Lieut. of the Discovery) became first Lieut.; Mr Baker (the 3rd Lieut:) became second, Mr Swaine our late new Master was promoted to 3rd Lieut: and Mr Munby, a Master's Mate of the Discovery appointed Master of the Chatham.

October. On the 1st of October the Fenis with Lieut: Mudge on board sail'd out of the Sound as also the Jackall sloop. We had by this time got nearly all our Provisions and Stores on board. The Guns were this day got off and the Yards and Topmasts were sway'd up. Our water was almost compleated, the late rain had formed a fine run of water in the *British Territories*, before this we had been obliged to send

³⁵The Spaniards bought this little vessel from the Americans, paying for her "seventy-five prime sea otter skins."

above two miles for that article. The weather return'd to its old pleasant state and we had now the regular Land and Sea Breeze.

On the 2nd in the morning arrived the Spanish Frigate *Princessa* commanded by Seigr. Don Salvador Fidalgo,³⁶ a Lieut: in the Royal Navy, together with the *Hope* Brig, Ingram, this is the same *Princessa* which Martinez commanded when he took possession of Nootka but is much such another Vessel as the *Aransasu* but carried more guns and men. She had 10 Guns mounted.

This Vessel came from the entrance of the Streights of Defuca, where in a small part near Cape Classett, they as I have already mentioned had a small settlement, their only establishment being the *Princessa* and her crew: they now evacuated it.³⁷ A melancholy murder as equally unprovoked, although not attended with such barbarous circumstances, as that of the Spanish Boy, was committed during their stay at their new Settlement. The first Pilot of the *Princessa* going on shore with his fowling piece to amuse himself shooting, after proceeding a little distance from where he landed was dragg'd by a party of the natives (with whom they had till that time been on the most amicable terms) into the woods, where they stripp'd him naked, and then taking his Gun from him which was loaded with Ball, they shot him dead with it. No provocation was known to have been given. Seigr. Fidalgo therefore determined very properly to punish these Savages for so atrocious a crime in a manner that it well deserved and with a severity that would make them ever remember it, and deter them from committing such for the future. He fired indiscriminately on the whole tribe, laid the Village waste, and routed them so successfully that they fled to the opposite side of the Streights.

Mr Fidalgo being an older officer than Seigr. Camaano immediately took the command on him, and as he was to remain here the winter, where he might expect much bad weather, he wisely began whilst the fine weather remain'd, to repair and refit his House, Gardens &c. He brought with him from the late settlement in Defuca, no less than 8 head of cattle, besides Poultry in abundance, Hogs, Goats, Sheep &c. On the 4th Seigr. Camaano in the *Arasansu* sail'd out of the Cove.

6th. This day the *Jenny* a ship Schooner, Baker, Master, belonging to Bristol, on this coast for Skins, arrived in the Cove. She had been but one season on the Coast and being unsuitably provided with articles of Traffic, her success had been but poor, having collected no more than about 350 good Sea Otter Skins. As she was to take the

³⁶His name is commemorated by that of the island separated from the mainland of Skagit County, Washington, by Swinomish Slough. Anacortes is the principal city on Fidalgo Island.

³⁷They had begun the erection of a fort at Neah Bay, for to this day fragments of old Spanish bricks are found where the foundations were started.

cargo home to England by orders, Mr Baker had determin'd on going now straight home, touching only at the Island of Masafuero to kill a few seals. Had he had a pass to entitle him to have gone to China where he could have sold his cargo he would have in that case laid in an assortment of articles that would have suited the natives on this Coast, to which he would have return'd and probably procured a valuable cargoe. He had on board two poor Girls, Natives of the Sandwich Islands whom he had brought with him from those Islands, but not wishing to touch there on his way home (provided he could otherwise get them a passage to their home) and hearing that Captn. Vancouver was now in Nootka he came in here for the purpose of requesting him to give them a passage to their native Island Atooi. This was readily agreed to, and the Ladies accordingly remov'd into the *Discovery*. There the poor girls found themselves happy and satisfied not only with the pleasing idea of getting soon home to their friends & country, but having a companion on board the *Discovery*, (one of their countrymen that Captn. Vancouver brought with him from Owhyee as I have at that place taken notice of) to whom they cou'd converse and who from his knowledge of our language could contribute much to their comfort by interpreting their wants and desires.

This is the Vessel that touch'd at Otaheite and brought from that place Mr Wethered, and the 4 or 5 others of the shipwrecked crew of the *Matilda*. Besides touching at Otaheite she had likewise touch'd at Easter Island, and, on her passage from Otaheite to the Sandwich Islds; at Christmas Island, where Mr Baker found Captn. Cook's Bottle, and he also found what Captn. Cook could not find on this Island, which was the very essential article fresh water. Here he completed his Wood & Water, turn'd about 70 Turtle, and found plenty of excellent Cocoa Nuts. He left on the Island a fine Otaheite Boar & a Sow big with young and half a dozen Cocks & Hens, and putting another paper mentioning what he had done here into the Captn. Cook's Bottle seal'd it up again and left it in the same place he found it.

8th. We had very fresh Breezes from the S. E. attended with rain and we afterwards learn'd it had blown a very heavy Gale at sea. The *Doedalus* being now reladen, shifted her birth further out and was getting ready for sea.

10th. Arrived the Butterworth English Ship, Mr. Brown, Master, together with one of his Squadron, the *Jackall*. Of these Vessels I have already given some small account. I shall only here add that the Squadron under him had been but unsuccessful this, their first season, but they were yet to be on the coast another season from which Mr. Brown expected great things.

The sale of the effects of the late unfortunate gentlemen Messrs. Hergest and Gooch commenced this day. Only the Officers and gentlemen of the two Vessels were permitted to purchase anything. The sale was by auction and as wearing apparel was among the principal articles (Books & Nautical Instruments being the chief of the remaining things) every thing went off well and indeed the generality at high prices.

On the 11th arrived here the Prince William Henry, English Schooner, a Mr Ewing Master, belonging to New Castle and one of Mr Alder's Squadron employ'd on the Fur Trade. She had not procured many Skins. This Vessel made a most remarkable passage from England to the Coast round Cape Horn having made it in no more than 5 months including a fortnight's stay at the Sandwich Islands. I have since understood that Mr Alder and his associates were proceeding illegally in their Commerce not having a South Sea pass, this renders them fair and lawful prizes to all Vessels on the Coast properly authorized to Trade.

Being now ready for Sea and having got our Boats & everything from the shore, on the 13th the Discovery made the Signal to unmoor. The wind that for some days before had been from the S. E. blowing fresh with rain now shifted to its old quarter the N. W. with regular night Land Breezes. The Jenny, Hope and Margaret sail'd out of the Cove, at 9 warped further out, but the Doedalus not being yet unmoor'd we brought up in 13 fathom water. At 11 we weigh'd but the wind shifting more to the Northward the Vessel wore round upon the point of the Cove and took the ground. We soon however hove her off and as we then thought without receiving much damage, but in this we were mistaken as will appear hereafter. We anchored after this outside the Cove, and at 7 o'clock the next morning once more weigh'd and with the Doedalus in company made sail out of the Sound, saluting the Fort with 13 Guns which was return'd with an equal number from the Princessa. The Discovery having got clear out the night before did not come to an Anchor but stood out and we now saw her lying too for us. As we were going out we saw a Brig working into the Sound which we took to be the three Bs.—Alder.

We were now bound to Monterrey, a Spanish Settlement on the Coast of California, touching on our way at Deception Bay (as 'tis called by Mr Mears) in the Latitude of 42.18 N or thereabouts, where Mr Grey, Master of the American Ship Columbia found a River which he enter'd, and being the first person as he conceived that ever entered it, he call'd it Columbia River. By a plan of it which Captn. Vancouver got at Nootka Mr Grey proceeded up the River about 50 miles where he left it wider considerably than the Entrance, and from whence

nothing of its source or termination was to be seen. Our business therefore was to determine either its source or termination.

After the commencement of the month of October much bad weather may be expected on this Coast as far to the Southward as the Latitude of 39° and 40° N and our passage to that situation which I shall presently relate will fully evince the truth of this observation. Had we sail'd from Nootka at the time Mr Quadra did, or even as late as the 1st of October we shou'd have escaped perhaps one of the most disagreeable, one of the most unpleasant passages that we have experienced, or shall experience during the voyage. S. E. Gales, with constant rain and Fogs, is the predominant weather on this coast in the Winter Months and we were informed by the Spaniards and others that have wintered at Nootka that they have been most generally three months of incessant hard rain. Very little snow falls on the low ground nor is the Frost at all intense, the Ice on no part of their Lakes or Rivers being above an inch thick.

These were among the comforts we shou'd have enjoyed had we remained here for the Winter which it was certainly intended we should had the place been given up to us as was expected.

The Latitude of Friendly Cove as it was made at the Observatory on shore was $49^{\circ}34'30''$ N.—and the Longitude $233^{\circ}33'$ Et of Greenwich.

Having now given an account of our transactions in Nootka Sound I shall proceed in the following pages to give some account of the Natives of the Coast we have been on this season and on the Trade to it for Skins although Mr Mears's Voyage, so generally read in England, and Portlock's, Dixon's and tho' the last, yet the best of all Cook's, very accurately give everything materially worth noticing.

Of the Natives of Nootka Sound and the Coast adjacent, their Manners, Customs, &c.

Although we had now been on the Coast of America for nearly six months—a whole summer—yet it is to be remembered all our Navigation from entering Defuca's Straights had been Inland and we had but little opportunity of making any remarks on the Inhabitants except those of Nootka, for as to what we saw in the Straights of Defuca they were not very numerous, they however, as well as those we saw off Cape Classett at the entrance of the Straights seem'd from what we could observe, to differ but little in appearance, manners, customs &c., from the Nootkan Indians, except the language, this at the entrance of the Straights and at the Sound into which we came from Desolation reach (and which led us to the Sea) was the same as spoken in Nootka Sound,

but in the interior part of the Streights, more than two or three very different languages are spoken. The generality of the men are under the middling size, tolerably well made with long Black Hair and good teeth, their Eyes small & Black with but little vivacity or expression in them, their cheek bones are in general high and prominent and their foreheads in the generality of them also very high and tapering to a small size at the back of the head. This curious distortion of the head is occasion'd by the manner they are treated when Infants, the head being tightly bound up in a Cradle with Fillets to produce the intended shape. The women except having their heads distorted in much the same manner as the men, in general in my opinion are superior in appearance to the men. They are delicate, with tolerable good eyes and smooth skins and I have seen some very handsome faces among them. The colour of these people when they are clean and free'd from the Ochre and filth with which they daub themselves, approaches very near to Europeans and some women I have seen as white as an English woman.

In their countenances they have very little animation, on the contrary they are in general of a very reserved dejected appearance and are not very prone to mirth. The women are very modest in their behaviour and cannot bear the most trifling attacks of gallantry. An indelicate word will often bring tears into their eyes but as there are few Societies without a Bad member or two so it was here.

The married men here were very jealous and could no more bear any indelicacy offered to their wives than they themselves. Polygamy is allowed here, at least I know among the chiefs, who are allow'd many wives. Maquinna had four, by all of whom he had children. Both men and women are extremely filthy and dirty in their persons, dwellings, manner of living and in short in everything whatever. They seldom or ever wash themselves, and they beautify themselves highly in their opinions by besmearing their faces with Red Ochre and white paint mixed with Fish Oil, in different figures, which at times renders their appearance frightful. This custom is however commonly confined to the men. As to their Hair, very little or scarce any care is taken of it by the men except indeed that when it is long enough they often plait the hind part into several separate long tails, which by being adorn'd on those days that they go to Whale feast or other Gala, with a large quantity of Powder'd Red Ochre, Oil of Fish, and down of Birds, get in time so thick and clotted as to become next to inseparable. They never use combs but the Women do and their Combs which are of wood are made by themselves. The Hairs of the women hang down behind straight and in the middle of the Front of the head is parted off towards each side but it is mixed

throughout with oil which is generally Venison Oil and with this species of oil the women likewise are fond of greasing their faces. But the combs they make use of are only for the purpose of combing the Hair smooth and straight and not for destroying vermin. These they conceive too precious to run the risk of loosing by using small combs therefore they pick them out with their fingers from each others heads and not willing to go unrewarded for their pains—eat them. Their Garments, Canoes and fishing implements are their chief workmanship and of these I procured samples that will better shew their ingenuity than I can explain it. The Garments worn by all ranks are much the same, the most common kind are made of the inside part of the Bark of the Pine tree³⁸ which after going through a particular process of steeping it in water, beating it out &c. is wove in small narrow strips into the Garment, the upper edge being generally bound with a Strip of Sea Otter skin and the end terminating in Tassels & fringes either of the Bark or of a small line which they make from a species of Flax plant. The Chiefs frequently wear Otter Skins, either made into Garments, or in their natural state as taken from the animal, only sewing the sides of two together and letting the head & paws hang over like lappets, but the shape and manner of wearing these garments I had forgot to mention, the Garment is square, or nearly so, being deep enough to hang from the chin to just below the Calves of the legs and long enough to wrap round them, this is passed under the left arm and ties with a thong at the two upper corners, over the right shoulder leaving thereby both arms free and the right side of the garment open entirely. Over this in bad weather they commonly wear a small round cloak if I may be allowed to call it so, it is of one piece, circular, with a hole to admit the head, and hangs from the neck to the middle of the body. They likewise manufacture a Woollen Cloth which they use to wear, though not so generally as the other kinds I have mentioned, this I believe is made from the Wool of an animal which we never saw and call'd the Mountain Sheep.³⁹ This last being much scarcer than their other manufactures, are more valuable among themselves than Otter Skins, that is, *one* garment is of more value than *one* Otter skin.

Besides their employment at these manufactures, fishing & killing the Sea Otters are their principal occupations. As to their amusements and pleasures I cannot say that I ever saw any, nor do I think they have any. They are extremely indolent and lazy and in general seem devoid of mirth. Their risible Faculties are seldom exercised and they never appear surprized, delighted or astonished at any thing they see, however

³⁸A mistake was here made by the observer. The bark used was that of the cedar tree. (*Thuja plicata*.)

³⁹In reality the mountain goat which does produce wool while the mountain sheep produces hair like a deer.

new, strange, or entertaining. In their tempers I should suppose them very suspicious, fearful and revengeful. They eat all their food (which always is Fish) boiled or broil'd and this they perform by putting the Fish into a Wooden Vessel with water which they heat by putting hot stones in.

Their Houses are universally built of Wood and in the same manner as that of Maquinna's which I have described. The Natives about Nootka have regular Summer and Winter Habitations. Their Summer ones are near the Sea Coast and their Winter ones, on the banks of the Arms of the Sea that run for a considerable distance Inland. All the Indians that we have seen this year on the Coast have preferr'd Copper to all other Articles. Blue Cloth was I believe equally as valuable. Next to these two articles all other kinds of Cloth of Woollen manufacture, large Yellow Metal Buttons, Copper Tea & Cooking Kettles were in most estimation. They are very fond of our food, and their general cry was for Bread and this they preferred to everything else in barter for Fish and such like small articles. But of all the different things they get the Woollen Cloth is almost the only one that is ever seen among them a second time, for they wear it on them and in the same fashion they wear their own garments. Perhaps the other articles they send inland to Barter with different tribes of Indians, for what, those on the Sea Coast cannot themselves attain otherwise. This indeed is known to be the case, some of the Masters of the Merchantmen told me they saw articles among Indians in the Latitude of 46° that they sold to Indians in the Latitude of 55 & 56 N and the Natives explain'd that they had got them last from an Indian tribe, and thus I suppose do the articles traverse from tribe to tribe. Sails for their canoes they are likewise very fond of, and use them with great dexterity.

As to the religion of these Indians I know nothing, it being a subject too profound to enter into with them, and more especially as I was not sufficiently acquainted with their Language for such an undertaking. We had however frequent opportunities in Defuca's Straits of seeing the manner the Indians there dispose of their dead and which I conceive to be the same method they use at Nootka from the very inconsiderable distance between the two places and the very great affinity between them in all their other manners and customs. The corpse is wrapp'd up either in Matts or Deer Skins, according I should imagine to the rank of the deceased, and put into a canoe which is secured in the spreading branches of the largest Trees. About the middle of the Tree we often found canoes fastened on the lower Branches and some of them containing four or five dead Bodies. Sometimes instead of a canoe we found the Corpse squee's'd

into a Box. This last method I shou'd suppose was used by those who could not afford to expend a Canoe for such purposes.

Though Maquinna is the greatest chief in the neighborhood of Nootka Sound yet Wicananish who resides at Clyonquot⁴⁰ seems to me to be the Emperor of the Sea Coast between Defuca's Streights and Woody point, an extent of upwards of a degree & a half of Latitude, and the most populous part of the Coast (for its extent) but Maquinna is not tributary to him nor does he allow his rank to be inferior to Wicananish's. Their families are united by Marriage which of course unites their Politics. Wicananish's property is very great and as I before mentioned is possessed of about 400 Muskets. With such a force no wonder that small vessels are afraid to enter the Port. He attempted to take the Ship Columbia while she was wintering in Clyonquot but I must confess I cannot bestow much pity on those who have been attacked when I recollect that they themselves have put the very weapons in their hands which are turn'd against them. Notwithstanding this threacherous piratical disposition the Chiefs behave with some degree of honor to those with whom they make bargains.

Wicananish amongst others frequently receives in advance from the Masters of Vessels (particularly Mr Kendrick) the value of from 50 to 100 Skins to be paid in a certain time which hitherto he has commonly fulfill'd and when the Butterworth & Jenny were together in that part I have understood they could not purchase a skin as Wicananish was making up a quantity he owed and had likewise made a promise to the person he was in debt to to keep all the skins for him over and above the sum due, that he collected. From what I have seen and heard I have not a doubt remaining in my own mind that these Indians are Cannibals. Knowing well in what light we consider this species of Barbarity, of course, when questioned on the subject they will not own it but the circumstance of the murder of the Spanish Boy where the Flesh was clearly cut out of the Legs & thighs and some other of the fleshy parts of the Body puts it beyond a doubt. It was well known among the Spaniards that Maquinna had killed and feasted on two Boys his own Slaves a little time before Mr Quadra arrived at Nootka for which Mr Quadra threatened to kill him. The fear of this prevented him doing it in so public a manner as that it could be found out although it is said he had often since privately regaled himself on human flesh. During the time we were at Nootka Mr Hanson in passing from the Doedalus to the Chatham had a human hand thrown into the boat to him from some Indians in a Canoe that had not been a very long time cut from the

⁴⁰Spelled Clayoquot in British Columbia literature. Clayoquot Sound is on the western shore of Vancouver Island, south of Nootka Sound.

Body. In short from all that I have heard and from my own observation I have no doubts (as I already observed) but that these Indians are Cannibals.⁴¹ Having now dwelt long enough on the Indians of Nootka I shall proceed to make some observations on the Fur Trade on the N. W. Coast of America nor am I going to give these observations and opinions on the subject as entirely my own, many of them being collected from the conversation of those whom I conceive to be good judges of the matter.

The Trade to the N. W. Coast of America had it been properly carried on might now have probably been a remarkably lucrative one. Had England in the first instance taken possession of the Coast by making a settlement at Nootka or some other convenient place and built a Fort and confined the Trade to themselves the Advantages arising from it to England would I should suppose be great. The average prices of the first cargoes of Sea Otter Skins that were carried to China (according to an account of them which I have seen published by Mr Dalrymple and which he says was procured from a Mr Cox a Merchant residing at China) compared to the average prices of the latest cargoes carried there were greater in the proportion of more than three to one. Many of the first Cargoes having sold on an average at 40 dollars per Skin whilst the late cargoes averaged no more than from 12 to 15 dollars per skin, though more good skins were among the cargoes of the latter, the more considerable part of the first cargoes being composed of garments of skins that had been worn and the average value of the articles *now* given in barter to the Indians for the skins in this Coast compar'd to what was at first given is greater in the proportion of near four to one. Both these effects were caused by the number of vessels of all nations (particularly the Americans) who instantly jumped at the Trade on hearing the success of the first vessels. More and more ships were seen every season and the Indians who soon saw the eagerness of all hands to purchase their skins demanded their own prices which was as readily given them by the purchasers who studying their private interests *for the moment* argued to themselves that those who gave the most got the most. A sheet of Copper that at one time wou'd purchase four skins at last wou'd not purchase at some places one. Muskets were early given them in Barter which they could not use without Powder and Ball, these they demanded for the Skins and got them and for a length of time no skins could be purchased without ammunition & Fire Arms. Some of the first Muskets that were sold procured 6 and seven Skins, now, two skins, but more commonly one, is the price. At the district of Wicananish that chief can turn out four hundred men arm'd with muskets and well found with am-

⁴¹It is probable that the cannibalism that once prevailed there was for for superstitious ceremonials rather than for food.

munition, a considerable part of which have been given him in barter by a Mr Kendrick, Master of an American Vessel call'd the Washington.⁴² Their former weapons, Bows and Arrows, Spears and Clubs are now thrown aside & forgotten. At Nootka it was the same way everyone had his musket. Thus are they supplied with weapons which they no sooner possess than they turn against the donors. Every season produces instances of their daring treacherous conduct. Few ships have been on the Coast that have not been attack'd or attempted to be attacked and in general many lives have been lost on both sides.

Such a number of Vessels soon glutted the China market and some who were needy and could not stand out with the Chinese sold at the best price offered. Some were ruined, some few grew rich still however the number of Traders encreased every season. The eagerness of some of these desperate Traders has in more than two or three instances urged them to infamous practices for procuring their cargoes for where the Indians have refused disposing of their Skins either from disliking the articles or from the quantity offered being too small in their opinions, some of these Traders have by force of Arms made them part with the skins on their own terms, nay have in some places forcibly taken their skins from them without making any return whatever. The interval of time between the capture of the English Traders by the Spaniards and the concluding of the Treaty between England and Spain afforded the Americans an opportunity of doing all that I have mentioned and the opportunity was readily embraced by them as they well knew that their career would not be of very long duration, for should the business have been decided in favor of England they knew of course their trade wou'd not be allowed and they had but little doubt shou'd the Spaniards have been confirmed in their rights to Nootka that their Trade would from that time be no longer allowed. If England conceived that the Trade on this Coast was worth her while to quarrel with Spain about why did she not in the first instance make a settlement there. Had this been done none of the evils I have mentioned would have come to pass and a small number of Vessels on a well regulated plan would have carried on the Trade with (*most probably*) as much success now as at the beginning. The first Vessels sent out from England on this Coast were fitted out by Messrs Etches & Co. who unfortunately failed in business but this did not arise from any loss sustained by their Vessels, their misfortune having happened before the voyage was completed and the voyage although it

⁴²The Lady Washington which had come out with the Columbia from Boston in 1788. Captain John Kendrick exchanged ships with Captain Robert Gray who returned to Boston in the Columbia by way of China and was thus the first to carry the Stars and Stripes around the Globe. Captain Kendrick remained on the Lady Washington in the fur trade between China and the American coast.

did not prove in the end so very lucrative as was expected was far from being a losing one. It was those gentlemen who fitted out the King George and Queen Charlotte, commanded by Messrs Portlock & Dixon and the Prince of Wales and Princess Royal Messrs Collnett & Duncan. But had Mr. Portlock done what (in the opinion of those who were well able to judge) he ought to have done he might have ensured his owner's fortune and his own. The K. George & Q. Charlotte were fitted out on a most liberal plan, furnished with the best Artificers and with everything necessary, not only for prosecuting their Trade on all parts of the N. W. Coast but for making a Settlement on it should it be deemed by Mr P. Expedient.

We find they make the Coast in very good time but instead of seperating and each ship taking the opposite ends of the Coast as I think they obviously ought to have done they both together enter Cook's River where they staid a considerable time without getting scarcely anything and after leaving that place without stopping at any other place whatsoever they run down the Coast, made an attempt to get into Nootka, which not succeeding in as soon as they expected, and not having patience to persevere, they gave up and stood away for the Sandwich Islands with no more than Eighty skins of all kinds between the two Vessels. Here it was they missed their fortunes, this season they had no rival and it has since been supposed and from many concurring circumstances very rightly supposed that at the very time Mr Portlock was off Nootka there was not less than 800 to a thousand Sea Otter skins in that Sound and its neighborhood. When the time for the second season of their returning to the Coast drew nigh, we find they again came together and enter Prince Wm's Sound where they met Mears. This circumstance first gave rise to the idea of seperating which had they not done, there is every reason to believe they would have left the Coast with but as little success at the ends of this Season as they did last, for after they seperated Mr Dixon discovered the Queen Charlotte's Islands and there procured the most considerable part of their cargo. Mr. Portlock after leaving Prince Wm's Sound only touches at one other Port in the Lat: as high as $57\frac{1}{2}$ N. Here he stayed a considerable while picking up a few skins and from this with but little more than two hundred skins and without again attempting Nootka nor any other part of the Coast he goes away to the Sandwich Islands bidding a final adieu to the Coast of America and the whole of the two vessels cargoes did not amount to more than 1800 Otter Skins of all sorts. For as to all the other kinds of skins they are of but little value at China comparatively speaking with Otter Skins. But 'twould have been of but little service had Mr Portlock even gone to Nootka this last

year, at least if his purpose had only been to collect skins, he was too late, for, this last season of their being on the Coast, there was a Ship in Nootka call'd the Imperial Eagle commanded by a Mr Berkely⁴⁸ from Ostend under Imperial Colours who procured in that Sound and its neighborhood (for he went no further to the Nrd.) above a thousand Sea Otter Skins the greater part of which Mr Portlock might have had had he persever'd and gone into that place the first season.

Mr Berkly was by himself. He staid but one season on the Coast and went to China with the above cargoes.

The Trade at present is carried on chiefly between Columbia River in the Latitude of 46° and Cross Sound in the Lat. of 58 N though within that extensive range I believe the Queen Charlotte's Islands have furnished more skins than all other parts put together. Some are collected in Admiralty Bay in about the Lat: 59° but to the Nrd. of that the Russians monopolize everything and are making rapid strides to the S. every year. Skins may be got to the S. of Columbia River but the Indians there are few and the places of shelter for shipping likewise as few.

Besides Fire Arms; Woollens & Warm Cloathing are in general request all over the American Coast as also Cooking Kettles, Copper *in Sheets* no farther than 53 Lat: but as we shall make some progrses next year to the Nd. I shall here close the subject & resume it when we get there.

E N D

⁴⁸See note 7 for reference to proper spelling—Barkley. The captain's visit is commemorated by the name of Barkley Sound on the western shore of Vancouver Island.